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Message Text

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44
ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 USSS-00 CCO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 ACDA-19 OMB-01 DRC-01 /135 W
---------- 101005
O R 281433Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 310
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
USINT CAIRO
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION USUN

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS
SUBJECT: ALLON INTERVIEV OCTOBER 27

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL SUMMARY OF VERBATIM TRANSLATION BY GOI PRESS OFFICE OF DEPUTY PRIMIN ALLON'S INTERVIEW ON ISRAELI TELEVISION OCTOBER 27.

2. ALLON'S REPLY TO FIRST QUESTION WAS THAT WAR IS NOT REALLY OVER, SO LONG AS EGYPT AND SYRIA ARE RECEIVIFG NEW
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WEAPONS AND CEASEFIRE NOT FULLY IN EFFECT. ASKED IF ISRAEL

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HAD WON WAR, ALLON SAID YES, COMPARING ARAB STATES' PREPARATIONS AND AIMS WITH PRESENT SITUATION.

3. PQ ANSWER TO THIRD QUESTION, ALLON SAID NO, AREA BALANCE OF FORCES HAS NOT CHANGED, ALTHOUGH MUTUAL ESTIMATIONS 0N BOTH SIDES MAY HAVE CHANGED. IN PAST ISRAELIS TENDED TO DISMISS ARABS' STRENGTH. LEARNING THIS WAR'S LESSONS, ISRAEL WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ABLE TO INCREASE ITS EDGE OVER ARABS.

4. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT IN ALL ARAB-ISRAELI WARS, CEASE-FIRES CAME EARLY FROM ISRAELI VIEWPONT, ALLON SAID THIS CEASEFIRE NEVERTHELESS FOUND IDF IN FAVORABLE GEOGRAPHIC POSITION.

5. ASKED IF ISRAEL WOULD NOW BE SUBJECT TO PRESSURE, ALLON SAID THERE IS ISRAEL-EGYPT AND INTERNATIONAL ARGUMENT GOING ON ABOUT WHERE OCT 22 CEASEFIRE LINES WERE. IDF HAD IN FACT ENCIRCLED THIRD EGYPTIAN ARMY BEFORE CEASEFIRE BUT IMPROVED ENCIRCLEMENT AFTERWARDS WHEN PROVOKED BY EGYPTIANS. MOREOVER, "WE, I BELIEVE, CANNOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO GIVE UP ANY OF THE GAINS WE ACHIEVED AS LONG AS THE FIGHTING WAS CONDUCTED AT THE EGYPTIANS' INITIATIVE, AS IT ACTUALLY WAS." AT SAME TIME, ISRAEL IS PERMITTING HUMANITARIAN AID TO THIRD ARMY, AND DIRECT MILITARY CONTACT IS BEING CONSIDERED TO FACILITATE THIS.

6. ALLON REPLIED TO NEXT QUERY THAT ALTHOUGH IT WAS TRUE INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION HAD PRODUCEE THIS MILITARY CONTACT, CONTACT WOULD BE DIRECT. ALLON HOPED MILITARY CONTACTS ABOUT CEASEFIRE WOULD DEVELOP INTO MILITARY-LEVEL TALKS ABOUT WHOLE MILITARY ASPECT, THESE TO BE FOLLOWED BY RESOLUTION 338 PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. NOT ANSWERING NBTT QUESTION DIRECTLY ABOUT WHETHER UNEF WOULD HINDER TALKS, ALLON REITERATED ISRKELI POSITION THAT UNEF SHOULD BE COMPRISED OF CONTINGENTS ONLY FROM STATES HAVING RELATIONS WITH BOTH PARTIES.

7. ASKED IF PRESENT CEASEFIRE LINES WOULD REMAIN UNTIL
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PEACE IS ESTABLISHED, ALLON SAID LINES ARE GOOD MILITARILY FOR ISRAEL. BEGIN QUOTE "NEVERTHELESS, IN ORDER TO TRY AND CON-SIDER THE NEEDS OF A TRANSITION PERIOD AND PARTICULARLY OUR OWN ASPIRATION EB GLZ TO THE STAGE OF PEACE TALKS, I WOULD NOT OPPOSE EVEN AT THE FIRST STAGE, EVEN AS A FIRST STEP IN CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, FOR THE ARMIES TO RETURN TO EITHER SIDE OF THE SUEZ CANAL AS THEY WERE BEFORE THE OUTBURST OF HOSTILITIES, THAT IS THAT

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THE EGYPTIANS RETURN TO THE WEST BANK AND ISRAEL RETURN
TO THE EAST BANK, AND THAT THEY BE SEPARATED ON THE BANKS
OF THE CANAL BY AN INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY FORCE, TO
PREVENT FRICTION, INCIDENTS AND SHOOTING." END QUOTE

8. ASKED IF THIS WOULD BE GOOD FOR ISRAEL, HE SAID YES, AND
ALSO FOR EGYPT. BEGIN QUOTE "FOR DESPITE THEIR GREAT
MILITARY DEFEAT WE SEE THAT IN THE VERY PRESENCE OF EGYPTIAN
FORCES THERE, EVEN IN A SITUATION OF ENCIRCLEMENT OR PARTIAL
ENCIRCLEMENT, THEY CLAIM A KIND OF GREAT PSYCHOLOGICAL
VICTORY, AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY WILL NOT WANT TO GIVE
UP THIS PREFCNCE, SO AS TO PROVE TO THEIR PEOPLE AND TO OTHER
ARAB NATIONS THAT THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN OVERCOMING THE
"BARRIER OF FEAR" AS DEFINED BY HASSANIN HEIKAL, IN
SUCCEEDING TO BUILD BROAD BRIDGEHEADS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF
THE CANAL. IF THIS PRESENCE MAKES IT EASIER FOR THEM TO
FREE THEMSELVES OF THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX WHICH, UNFORTUNATELY,
HAS ACCOMPANIED THEM, WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION, FOR SO MANY YEARS,
AND IF IT MAKES IT EASIER FOR THEM TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATING
TABLE, I WOULD BE WILLING FOR US TO RELATE TO THIS
WITH SUFFI-
CIENT TOLERANCE SO LONG AS WE DO GET TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.
BUT THE PROPOSAL MUST BE MADE TO SIC THEM." END QUOTE.

9. ALLON ADDED SUCH PROPOSAL HAD NOT YET BEEN EXAMINED.

10. ALLON FIRMLY REJECTED SUGGESTION ISRAEL MAY BE BECOMING
US SATELLITE. ISRAEL SOMETIMES COMPLIED WITH US PROPOSAL
BECAUSE OF US APPEAL, SOMETIMES DID SO AFTER GETTING US TO

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 USSS-00 CCO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 ACDA-19 OMB-01 DRC-01 /135 W
---------- 101096
O R 281435Z OCT 73

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHD IMMEDIATE 0311
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AMEMBASSY JIDDA
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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AMEND IT, AND SOMETIMES WAS OBLIGED TO AGREE WHEN ISRAEL
WOULD HAVE PREFERRED NOT TO HAVE BEEN ASKED. BUT THIS
WAS NOT THE CASE WITH OCT 22 CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL, WHICH
DID NOT LEAVE ISRAEL IN CONDITION OF STRATEGIC INFERIORITY.

11. ALLON REPLIED TO NEXT QUERY THAT THERE WOULD BE NO
IMPOSED SETTLEMENT, AS PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY HAD SAID
SO. ALSO, BEGIN QUOTE " SINCE THE US CONSIDERS ITSELF AN OFFICIAL
CANDIDATE FOR ONE OF THE APPROPRIATE AUSPICES FOR THE PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS, IT CANNOT WORK OUT PROGRAMS OF ITS OWN. AND
IF IT HAS NO PROGRAMS OF ITS OWN, HOW CAN IT IMPOSE NON-
EXISTENT PROGRAM?... BUT /.. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE GREAT
POWERS WILL TRY TO EXPLOIT THEIR INFLUENCE ON EACH OTHER...
AS FAR ASNXOSSIBLE, THEY SHOULD INFLUENCE EACH OTHER AND
THE PARTIES TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT TO MAKE MUTUAL
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CONCESSION." END QUOTE

12. ALLON AGREED WITH QUESTIONER THAT US AND USSR WILL
NOT ALLOW CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THESMSLEVES TO ARISE. ISRAEL
WOULD NOT NEED DIRECT US MILITARY INTERVENTION AND IN FACT
IS PROVIDING VALIDITY OF NIXON DOCTRINE. IF PARTIES REFUSE
TO MAKE PEACE, POWERS CANNOT FORCE THEM TO. IF ARAB SCETES
DO NOT DRAW TRUE CONCLUSIONS AND MAKE PEACE, THEY WILL BE
COMMITTING FATAL ERROR.

13. ALLON CONTINUED: BEGIN QUOTE " WHEN WE GET TO
THE IMPLEMENTATIN OF PARA 3 OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION (THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL
HAS REACHED A DECISION ON THE NEED FOR NEGOTATIONS BETWEEN
THE SIDES) TO ESTABLISH THE PEACE IN THE FUTURE ON THE BASIS
OF FOUR POINTS:
A. DEFENSBILE BORDERS;

B. EFFECTIVE MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING CERTAIN

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INSPECTED DEMILITARIZED ZONES;
C. A BALANCE OF FORCES BETWEEN THE SIDES TO THE DISPUTE;
D. PEACE TREATIES.
I BELIEVE THAT WITH FOUR POINTS SUCH AS THESE IT IS NOT IMPOSIBLE
THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO CONSTITUTE A DURABLE PEACE. BUT IN
ORDER TO ARRIVE AT THIS WE MUST HVE PDLIENCE.". END QUOTE

14. ASKED IF RES 338 NEGOTIATIONS AR IN SIGHT, ALLON
SAID NOT YET, BUT CEASEFIRE ITSELF IS STILL BEING WORKED ON.
AS LONG AS BAG-EL-MANDEB AND GULF OF SUEZ NAVIGATION IS BEING
INTEREFFERED WITH, THERE IS NO CEASEFIRE.

14. ALLON, AGREEING END OF 1973 WAR HOLDS GREATER HOPE FOR
PEAVD THAN 1967 WAR ENDING, SAID ISRAELIS NOW HAVE LEARNED
ARABS ARE RADY TO RISK STARTING WAR "EVEN IF IT IS WAR OF
DESPERATION (WHICH) MANY PEOPLE FAILED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT."
ARABS HAVE LEARNED THERE CAN BE NO MILITARY SOLUTION TO
ARAB -ISRAELI CONFLICT, AND HAVE MOVED CONFLICT FROM DEADLOCK
TO SUPER-POWER NEGOTIATIONS-- WHICH HAD BEEN ARAB OBJECTIVE.
EGYPTIANS PLACE MOST OF THEIR HOPE IN US, KNOWING USSR HAS
NO INFLUENCE
ON ISRAEL. BUT ARABS KNOW THERE IS NO MILITARY
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SOLUTION AND ISRAEL DID NOT WAGE WAR WITH BRITISH OR FRENCH
ASSISTANCENAND DID NOT TAKE ARABS BY SURPRISE. THEY CANNOT
RATIONALIZE THEIR DEFEAT, NOR CAN THEY BLAME THEIR WEAPONS.

15. ASKED WHAT ISRAEL WILL PROPOSE, ALLON REPLIED RES 338
PARA 3 TALKS, PLUS POW EXCHANGE. HE NOTED THAT EVEN IF CEASEFIRE
IS FULLY IMPLEMENTED, "INCLUDING FREEDOM OF
NAVIGATION IN HE SUEZ," ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO REMAIN LARGELY
MOBILIZED FOR WEEKS OR MONTHS, MEANING MUCH WORK AND
SACRIFICE ON HOME FRONT. BUT BEGIN QUOTE "PERHAPS THIS TIME THE
POLITICAL STRUGGLE HAS MORE OF A CHANCE THAN IN THE PAST.
PERHAPS THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IT HAS MORE OF A CHANCE SINCE ALORIN
WHEN WE LOST A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL ACTION. BUT I DOD
NOT WANT TO SPREAD ILLUSION; IN MY OPINION WE ARE STILL WALKING
IN A LONG TUNNEL, EXCEPT THAT, I AM HAPPY TO SAY, WE CAN NOW
SEE THE LIGHT AT THE FAR END." END QUOTE

16. ASKED ABOUT LESSONS FROM THIS WAR, ALLON SAID THERE
ARE MANY, AND IN DUE COURSE THEY WILL BE DISCUSSED. QUERIED
IF OLD ALLON PLAN STANDS, HE ANSWERED HE MIGHT INTRODUCE
CERTAIN CHANGES, BUT IN PRINCIPLE, IT STANDS. HIS OPINION
HAD NOT CHANGED THAT ISRAEL MUST HAVE EFENSIBLE BORDERS
AND MUST BE PRIMARILY JEWISH IN POPULATION. ALLON ADDED
THAT 1973 WAR PROVED THAT STRATEGIC DEPTH AND STONG IDF ARE
NEEDED BY ISRAREL, BUT IT ALSO PRIVED THAT BEGIN QUOTE "
THOSE WHO DISMISS THE ARABS OUT OF HAND WERE LIKEWISE WRONG.

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THE TRUTH IS THAT WE MUST ASE OUR POLICY UPON PEACE TREATIES
AND UPON MILITARY BALANCE." END QUOTE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: WAR, ARMISTICE, POLICIES, PRESS CONFERENCES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973TELAV08714
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973107/aaaaaemo.tel
Line Count: 280
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: collinp0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03-Dec-2001 by bryansd0>; APPROVED <12 FEB 2002 by collinp0>
Review Markings:

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Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ALLON INTERVIEV OCTOBER 27
TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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